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621 596 [582] A great many families of a local group are related, but not all of them. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that a man has to marry outside the local group. The families who make up the group shift constantly. A family will often go and attach itself to some other local group.

621 222 462 The women of a local group are the ones who would go to gather mescal together. Those who went would go and come from the main group. It might be that they'd split off into smaller parties which would later rejoin. It depends on how thick the mescal is in one place and how many people there are.

621 619 484 The members of the local group can go anywhere in the territory of their band, but they are out of place if they go into the territory of another band. An individual or family of the Southern Chiricahua band might join many Southern Chiricahua local groups in turn. . . . .

621 701 726 At the time of a big raid, men from more than one local group might get together, but those from each locality would stay around their own leader. He acted as a sort of captain for them. When they made camp at night, those from one local group would stay together. For boys' training, the young fellows of a local group are the most that would be brought together at one time.

621 602 182 Though allegiance to the local group is brittle and its composition is constantly changing, it does provide a common name, base, and leadership for its members and gives them the opportunity to engage in certain industries in common. In these matters it cuts across the boundaries of the extended family, and, if a married man has blood relatives in the same local group, it offers him the opportunity to co-operate with these kin for many purposes. This means that his horizon is never entirely limited to the interests of his affinities.

THE WOMAN AND HER HUSBAND'S RELATIVES

602 596 The married woman has no formal obligation to labor for her husband's relatives but is expected to carry on her industrial activities in company with her mother and sisters as a permanent member of the extended family in which she was born. Moreover, none of her husband's kin calls upon her to avoid them. To express approval, some of them may, however, use polite form in speaking to her.

602 195

Relatives of a boy can ask the girl he marries for polite talk if they think much of him. His own brothers and sisters and cousins can do this. The father and mother of the boy don't do this. They regard their son's wife as their own daughter. The brothers and sisters of both the father and the mother can do it though. But they don't have to. It's up to them.

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776 More feared is Water Monster, who sometimes appears in human form and sometimes as a large serpent. He is responsible for drownings, and "when anything disappears at the water, they suspect Water Monster." "He is a swallowing monster. He would just swallow people up, and they'd disappear. There is a spring near here where they say there is a Water Monster. At Whitetail there is a spring like this. Even horses go there and never come out."

THE SHAMAN AND POWER

756 554 *The personnel of shamanism.*—In the great enterprise of traffic with the supernatural there is no hierarchy of religious leadership:

There were not a few shamans. Supernatural power is something that every Chiricahua can share. Most of the people have some sort of ceremony, little or big.

Shamans aren't ranked: each person knows a different thing, so no one is better than another. If you have the ceremony for a certain thing, you have it; that's all. If a shaman can't help you, he just can't cure you, and you get someone else.

[789] One thing, like the power to make someone run fast, is enough to make you a shaman. The possession of any ceremony makes a person a shaman. A little rite makes you a shaman just as much as a long elaborate one.

Yet individuals whose cures are consistently spectacular and whose prophecies are often verified do achieve more than average renown:

Those well known for their ceremonial work were usually pretty well off. They depended on ceremony for a livelihood to some extent, but they went along on hunts and did all the work that the others performed too. When men came [431] back from raids with booty, they were given many gifts. People went out of their way to help them.

756 726 554 At a time of strife the shaman whose ceremony pertains to the thwarting of the enemy may gain markedly in prestige:

The shaman whose work has to do with war had a strong part in politics and could rise to a position of power. But ordinarily a man with another ceremony is just like anyone else. Geronimo got political power from the religious side. He foresaw the results of the fighting, and they used him so much in the campaigns that he came to be depended upon. He went through his ceremony, and he would say, "You should go here; you should not go there." That is how he became a leader.

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Power is bitterly resentful if its ceremony is conducted in a slovenly or erroneous fashion, for this is evidence of little interest and faith.

It must not be thought that a shaman is concerned with his power only at times of ritual or when he is in communication with his supernatural guardian. This relationship invades every realm of interest and activity. One man, who has a ceremony from Lightning, tends to interpret everything possible in terms of it. He even sees a lightning symbol in the zigzag lacing of the child's cradle, a point that no one else seems willing to concede. Elsewhere I have indicated how the nature of a man's ceremony and power source may even affect the manner in which he relates traditional legends.[8]

In the course of a rite a constant interchange between the power and the shaman takes place. "A shaman with masked dancers does not paint them just the way he wants to. Every time he wants to paint, a picture comes before his eyes and tells him what to paint."

The shaman is the custodian of the songs and ritual with which he has been intrusted. It is his obligation to see that they are not inappropriately used. "If a man has a ceremonial song and his power has told him to sing it a certain way, he doesn't want anyone else to sing it, and he will tell him it's wrong if he tries."

It not infrequently happens that the power and the shaman discover that on some specific issue they have contrary aims or interests:

> The old people say that a shaman often falls out with his own power. Many stories have been told about that, all of them true. After many years, the power will ask some shamans to sacrifice some of their best friends or the very ones they love best in the family. That's what they say.
>
> There was one man who was a war shaman. He was well protected by his power. Once he had his own group of men ready to go into battle. Usually before going into battle, he would sing for his men and pray for them so that nobody would get a wound. This time he was praying for his men who were going into battle. All his warriors were sitting around him that night. He had never kept

[8] "Three Types of Variation and Their Relation to Culture Change," in *Language, Culture, and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*, pp. 146–57.

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anything about his ceremony secret from his warriors. He always told them, "Go right in and fight. Nobody's going to get killed or shot. Go right in. That's what my power says." 756 778 726

That night during his ceremony for the next day's battle his power told him, "Tomorrow I'm going to take two of your very best men during the battle." It called them by their names, the two best warriors. 787 782

So right there he told them, "You two men are to be killed tomorrow. That is what my power says." Then he kept on with his ceremony. He was angry with his power.

But his power said, "This must be done. I have helped you and have done everything you asked for up to this time. Now you must do what I tell you."

This man answered his power, talking so loud that everybody heard it. They say he waved his hand over his men to cover all of them. He said, "These men and their families, I love every one of them. I want to see them as long as I live. I will not let you have any of them. I will not agree with you. I must tell you that right now." He was very angry.

His power said, "It must be done." And he told it, "It's not going to be done!" He was fighting it.

The power told him again, "It must be done." And he said, "If you think it must be done, take me. Then you can do whatever you want after that. Take me first. If that's the kind of thing you want me to do, take your ceremony back right now. I don't want it. I want to do only good things with it. When I have to pay [you] men, I will not put up with it any longer."

I think this argument ended by the power's saying, "If you don't want anything to happen, don't go into that battle tomorrow." The power is strong in this story. That's the way the old people tell it.

Since the value of a ceremony depends so markedly upon the intimate personal relations between the shaman and the supernatural source, anything that interferes with the clarity of purpose of the shaman gravely weakens the rite: 756 778 787

The only thing the old man told me was this: "The older you get, the weaker you become with your ceremony. Your mind is weak. Your praying is mixed up. You get the lines in the wrong order in the songs and prayers. Your voice is weak in praying. Your voice is feeble and you can't sing as you used to. You can't have a good vigorous talk with your power any more." [886]

And because the efficacy of power is so completely linked with this mutual confidence, any rupture of this relationship may result in the withdrawal of supernatural support from the shaman:

Sometimes the power of the shaman just goes, all at once. E. is a member of the Central Chiricahua band. I knew him when I was a boy. I lived right in the same place. He is my cousin (our fathers were brothers, sons of the same

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A shaman who got his power from a star could locate the enemy by making a cross of ashes on his left hand and holding it up to the star, the morning star. This was much used in war. Sometimes the cross was traced in pollen, or abalone shell was held aloft in the hand. Then a flash of lightning in the direction of the enemy appeared.

756 778 789 [787]

Fugitives can be found and halted by ceremonial methods too:

A young man killed his wife and ran away. Her relatives were looking for him. Finally they found his track. They brought a ceremonial man to it. "I'll make him come back," he said. He knelt down, put pollen on the man's track, and prayed and sang. Then he put his hand in the track and turned it. "He can't get away. He will be back," he said. In two days this boy came to his stepfather's camp. They were waiting for him and caught him.

Of great consequence is the function of power in weakening the enemy and in providing invulnerability from attack:

756 778 789 726

One time they all saw the enemy coming, and the enemy saw them. The shaman said to the people, "I am going to make them disappear, and we shall disappear from their view also." Then he told the people to go behind a hill so they couldn't see the enemy. He alone stood on top of the hill.

After about twenty minutes the shaman told them all to come up again. When they came up, there were only cattle grazing around where the enemy had been. The shaman told the men to herd the cattle, drive them to the river, and shoot them and eat them there.

When it became apparent that the Mexicans and Americans were menacing invaders, the ceremonies to influence the enemy were extended to cope with them:

756 778 789 648

C. was going into Chihuahua. He wanted to go to a certain Mexican town. He knew the ceremony of Cloud and started to perform it. Cloud told him not to use it but to use the ceremony to influence the enemy which he also knew. So he did. Then he went right into the town.

The mayor was surprised to see him come. "Aren't you afraid? Don't you know we kill all of you Indians?" he asked C. "I'm not afraid. What should I be afraid of? I have done nothing against you," C. replied. And no harm came to him.

. . . . K. got into some trouble. He had to run away to Oklahoma. He came back afraid, for the agent had said he would fix him when he got hold of him. So he hired a woman to pray for him and influence the white man.

She walked up the road behind him praying. Then she said, "All right, go ahead and see the agent." Then she turned off the road. K. went right on to the office. The agent did not seem angry with him. In fact, he was glad to see him. It surely does influence them!

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Supernatural power further protects the warrior against his enemies by making him invulnerable to their arrows and bullets.

The control of weather and natural events are other objectives of ceremonialists:

There is a ceremony to bring rain when it is very dry. Then we get rain by calling on White Painted Woman and Child of the Water. The world is White Painted Woman. The thunder is Child of the Water. Sand, a whitish sand from Old Mexico, is used in this ceremony to call the rain. It is blown to the four directions. Also Lightning is called on when the sand is blown, and a blowing noise, "Hoo, hoo!" is made. In the prayer there is mention of the number of days it should rain.

I have a ceremony which, if carried out on the desert, would cause a sandstorm. But this would be uncomfortable for the people, and so I dislike to do it. It is a prayer. I used it when men were going to make a raid for horses so that they could get away without being detected. I throw sand into the air, blow against it four times, say the prayer, and it causes sand to blow around so thick that you can't see.

The length of day or night can also be controlled through power:

When he was on the warpath, Geronimo fixed it so that morning wouldn't come too soon. He did it by singing. Once we were going to a certain place, and Geronimo didn't want it to become light before he reached it. He saw the enemy while they were in a level place, and he didn't want them to spy on us. He wanted morning to break after we had climbed over a mountain, so that the enemy couldn't see us. So Geronimo sang, and the night remained for two or three hours longer. I saw this myself.

MEDICAL PRACTICES

The nonritual treatment of ailments.—Though it is true that most of the ceremonies deal with ill-health, it does not necessarily follow that all sickness must be treated ceremonially. An individual may become sick through surfeit or through want; he may weaken himself by overexertion; he may suffer injury because of carelessness or needless daring. Advancing years bring their infirmities; old age "can kill you." "There are several ailments you can get by not taking care of yourself, by foolishness—such things as tuberculosis and venereal diseases." Of course, in any particular case, the reasoning may be reversed, and a malevolent person or force may be blamed finally for the trouble.

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. . . . They make steps of pollen just like those made at the girl's puberty rite and have the patient walk through. Anyone else who wants to can walk through after the patient finishes. They call it the trail of long life. 755

The ground drawing, too, may be an important feature of a particular rite. The one discussed below was used against epidemics as well as to foil the enemy. 789 [755] [751]

I do not want to draw it because I do not know it. No one transferred the power to me, and it would not be wise for me to try it. This ground drawing was used in war too. Once it was used when I was there. A regiment of cavalry and a regiment of infantry were after us. This shaman drew the picture in pollen on the ground and left it there. Then we retreated to a hill. Both regiments turned off the trail and went back by a roundabout way, though the trail was plain, and they could have kept going. That is the way the ground drawing works. When it is used like this, the enemy is unable to follow. Something happens to the enemy always. They give up before they get to the place of the ground drawing, or they cannot pass it. 789 726

Death in a near-by home is the one event considered serious enough to halt a ceremony already started. "If there is a death in the camps, they stop any ceremony going on. They won't pray even. The ceremony has to be started over again. It can start the day after the person is buried." 755 761

Almost without fail, at the conclusion of a ceremony, the shaman imposes some food or behavior restriction upon the patient: 755 262 784

A Chiricahua, in the house of another, always asks if he can do anything before he does it. His host might have had a ceremony performed after which he was told not to let people smoke before him, step over him, or do any of a number of other things. We have to be careful not to disobey any of these things and cause sickness or harm to a friend.

The shaman restricts his patients. He tells some not to eat liver, entrails, heart, head, or not to let anyone step over them, or stand to the east of them when they are sitting down, or suddenly appear behind them. Or he might tell them never to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or, if someone gives them a piece of fruit and it drops, not to pick it up again and eat it.

Usually these restrictions are scrupulously respected:

One woman here was shot. She had a curing ceremony performed over her by one who specializes in gun wounds. He told her she must not eat deer meat, and to this day she will not do so. I know her well. Once I offered her deer meat, and she would not take it.

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231 755 539 It happened at Baharito. We were driving a bunch of wild horses. T. had the gentle horses and some of us younger men were running the wild ones. P.'s horse got his foot in a hole. The horse fell with him. The rope was caught around P.'s knee and he lay like dead with his mouth open when we came up. After the horse fell, it got up and walked a little ways and stood there. I was going to P., but Old T. said, "Get away and don't touch him."[1] So we went away and talked of other things.

T. went to the east side and walked toward him, praying softly to himself. I could not hear what he said. He touched him, kicked him four times under the foot, put pollen in his mouth, and told him to get up. And P. did. T. went back to where the horse fell and got dirt from four tracks and put it in P.'s mouth. Then he got saliva from the mouth of the horse and put it all over P.'s clothes.

231 755 533 539 [126] In recording ceremonial songs, the details of another horse ceremony were learned:

This is R.'s horse ceremonial song. We were driving horses to Whitetail where we were going to brand them. This happened at Whitetail Spring. There were only three horses left in the corral. W. went across. Two others were in there roping horses. The three horses started at once and knocked W. down. He was nearly dead; he didn't come to for three or four hours.

Then R. worked on him. That's how I heard this song. He sang more than this one song, but I just caught this one. If you ever get hurt from a horse, it will fix you up. He used some herbs in his ceremony too. . . . .

These are the words of the song:

The sun's horse is a yellow stallion;
His nose, the place above his nose, is of haze,
His ears, of the small lightning, are moving back and forth.
He has come to us.
The sun's horse is a yellow stallion,
A blue stallion, a black stallion;
The sun's horse has come out to us.

231 789 [533] [782] The horse ceremony is of great importance also in taming wild horses and in securing fresh horses on raids. When it is used for these purposes, the rite is confined principally to songs and prayers.

[777] Some knew how to sing before going on a raid. They sang to corralled horses, so the horses would give them good luck.

[926] Before leaving for raid or war, they often have a ceremony conducted by one who knows the ceremony of the horse. This is so good horses will fall into their

[956] [1] After a mishap with a horse, recovery is speedier if the injured person is not touched until a horse shaman takes charge.

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hands, so that their horses will be strong and carry them through, and so that all in the party will have good luck.

231 525 541 789 [237]

Gambling is a serious enterprise, and horse-racing is one of its important forms:

A horse shaman performs a ceremony over race horses used for gambling. I have seen horses worked over like this. Horses which have been taken care of by a horse shaman in this way always have an eagle feather tied just where the tail bone leaves off. The owner of the horse usually gives the horse shaman something that has to do with a horse for his pay—a saddle, a blanket, a bridle, or something like that.

Anything fast, like the coyote, the fox, the wind, or clouds, should be used in songs to make a horse run fast.[19]

232 756 231

When a valuable horse is to be gelded or is injured or sick (though "if a horse has been witched, you can't cure it"), the owner is likely to consult a horse shaman.

T..... knew the ceremony of the horse. He knew a lot about the sickness of this animal. I saw him castrate them. People brought the horses to him to castrate. He treated horses that couldn't pass water and some that were going blind too.

232 789 231

But often the owner, though he is not a horse shaman, injects some ceremonialism into his care of his horse:

If a horse can't pass water, we have a little ceremony for it. Take a rope, hit the horse on the back with it, and tie a knot in the rope. Do this four times. Say prayers meanwhile. Don't hit the horse hard enough to hurt it. Then trot the horse a few hundred yards and bring it back to the same position.

When a horse gets blind, they cut the vein leading down from the eye that's getting bad. The horse gets well then. This is done to sheep now too. I have done it to both. If a horse is sluggish, it is given a root called "black medicine" which is put in oats or mescal or something the horse likes.

We practice bloodletting on a horse which is lazy. Then we put turquoise on the cut.

231 789 [237]

Horses that are scary and jump sideways are fixed with eagle feathers. These are tied on the mane or to the bridle. Then the horse doesn't get scared. I did it like that at Whitetail myself.

[825] [237]

[19] The hummingbird is used as an aid in racing too: "Its feathers help in making a man or a horse speedy."

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It is when a raiding party is intercepted, or when disastrous retaliation on the camps follows a raid, that a real war party is formed: 721 726

Sometimes when the Chiricahua are on the raid, the enemy kills some of their principal men. The people whose relatives have been killed notify the leaders, warriors, and everybody—the entire encampment. Even though they are in sorrow they notify these friends to have a war dance. Following it they are going to go after the enemy, no matter where they have gone. All the warriors agree to it. Then they have a war dance that night for a few hours. The warriors bring their equipment, knives, bows, guns, and all the weapons they are going to fight with. [535]

The atmosphere on this occasion is very different from that which marks the preparations for a raid:

During the war dance they show what they are going to use when they meet their enemies. This dance means that they are going after all their enemies, everyone except their own tribe members, any other enemies there are. It doesn't have to be the ones that killed their men. They go after anything, a troop of cavalry, a town. They are angry. They fight anyone to get even. When they go out this way, they fight to win. When they are out, they might meet the same enemy who killed their people. Then they turn for home after they have killed all their enemies. [535]

But whether the occasion is a raid for spoils or a punitive expedition demanded by bereaved relatives, attention is likely to be directed to the enemy possessions: 727 433

They bring in the captured equipment—guns, saddles, ammunition. When the warriors come within sight of their camp, they all begin to shoot. Then everyone is happy.

When the news comes to camp that a victorious war party is returning (a scout is sent ahead with the news), everyone is excited because there will be things to distribute, and they say, "Let us beat the drum and sing to greet our heroes." The dancers are in two groups; one bunch eats while the other goes on with the dance.

When the men went to Mexico and fought, they would bring back booty of all kinds—blankets and horses. Then they have a dance which can take place in the day or night as soon as they get back. They dance around the fire and the scalp, if any was taken. Then the women dance with the men in the social dancing. [535]

Before this the men dance, and they call off the names of the brave men who were down in Mexico. The men shoot off guns when a name is called. Then the man called makes up his mind and goes and brings blankets and things and puts them there. [431]

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727 [431] them there. He tells the women to help themselves. Sometimes he kills a cow or a horse for them. This is done mostly for women who have no men to take care of them. Sometimes the man will just throw out things to the people.

WAR FOR VENGEANCE

721 726 535 *The war dance.*—Despite the identical designs on the enemy's goods, the war party differs from the raiding expedition in preliminaries, personnel, and tenor:

> Only when they go out for revenge and fighting do they have the dancing beforehand. A relative who wishes a revenge party goes to the leaders and head men and asks them to use their influence to get one up. A large group would go, usually on foot. . . . .
>
> All big war parties are undertaken to avenge deaths. The relatives of the father of the dead person or of his wife will get it started and try to enlist as many as possible. If they are important people, it will be a big party. . . . . As many as volunteered would go. Relatives of the dead man would agitate for the party, and if there was a leader among them, he would be in charge of it.

726 535 The war dance is a dramatization of warfare itself and a pledge on the part of the individual warrior to participate in the action and to acquit himself bravely:

> All the leading men notified the others that they were going to have a war dance that night and that they were going after the enemy the next day. "Fierce dancing" is what they called this.
>
> All the Indians gathered that night. They didn't tell men that they must go. They don't say, "You must go, and you and you." These Chiricahua feel as men on their own. If things like war are going to happen, they themselves have to show they are manly. It is left up to the individual to decide.
>
> [534] They brought a hide. They had a drum there, a pot covered with buckskin. They went through the thing that has been handed down in tradition from the original time. They know how to go through the performance; it doesn't have to be told. Those who were going to dance put their moccasins on and made themselves just like fighting men in war. [302] They had long hair, so they tied it in place with a headband. Some who had long hair that came down the back tied it back there in the middle so it wouldn't get in the way. [291] The Chiricahua man wears a long and wide loincloth which comes down in front to a place just above the knee and further down in back, near to the ankle. For this dance they brought the back flap through the legs and the front one around too and tucked them into the belt. They don't have to do it if the ends are not in the way, but they want to make themselves as "free" as possible.
>
> What I saw was this. The upper parts of their legs were naked. The shirts of those who wore them flopped around. Some wore cartridge belts as bandoleers. Some carried guns.

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The dance always starts with four men. Four men came from the east to the fire, just as the masked dancers do. They marched abreast in line, not one behind the other. They went around the fire four times like this. Then two got on the south side and two on the north. The singers and the hide that was being beaten were on the west. The four faced each other in two pairs. They danced in place. They danced toward each other, changed sides, turned around, and went back. They did this four times. Then the fun began. Then they sang and everyone shouted. The women from all over made that noise as they do in the big tepee. Now it was anyone's chance to dance who wished to. They didn't crowd forward at first though. 726 535

The other men were dressed just like those first four fellows. They don't paint their faces or decorate themselves especially for the war dance; they come in just plain. Now whoever wanted to dance got out there. They had guns. They put cartridges in. They shot. They said by their actions, "This is the way I'm going to act in the fight." They put cartridges between their fingers. Some put as many as they could in their mouths. [302] [411]

Some men did not dance. They signified their intention of going to war by coming out during the singing and marching around the fire once. It means, "I am going out."

The men doing the dance did not shout. They just made a noise softly under their breath, like, "Wah! Wah!" You can't shout in the war dance or in war. The belief that has been handed down is that, if you shout in battle, many of you will be killed. Those along the sides shout though. [201]

The dance went on. At every song a new set of men came in and the others went out and stood at the side. There were prayers going on over there. Everyone along the side was praying during the dance. When a principal man's name was called, he got out with his men. They get out in squads, sort of. [782]

When just a few were left who hadn't come out, a few fellows who had talked bravely when drinking tiswin, they were called on in the songs by name. All the rest had been dancing and had shown that they were going out. Then they called these last ones by name. They said in the song, "You, So-and-so, many times you have talked bravely. Now brave people at Casas Grandes (or Chihuahua) are calling to you." 726 535 577

If a person who is called like that doesn't come out and make good his boasts, he's considered no man at all. But few men would hold back when they were called like that. They come out the first thing when they hear their names.

When all who were going to the war had danced, every one of them got in there and they all went around the fire four times together, shooting as they went. Then it was all over. 726 535

This dance is also a profound religious experience for the man who takes part in it. "Some who had a spear, hat, and shield made for them through a ceremony danced with them," thus 726 535 782

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726 535 782 making a plea for success and personal safety in the coming conflict. The dance proceeds with prayer and ritual:

[778] We dance one night and start the next morning. Everyone going on the party had to dance for power. Men puffed smoke to the four directions and prayed: "May I kill an enemy. May I get food."

The war dance lasted for four nights. We danced and prayed for good luck—not to have fun. We wanted to see our enemy and have a victory. This was a very strong ceremony. We asked our supernatural power to let us have the Mexican general or president. We called him by name for four days so that we would capture or kill him. We were always after him and prayed to get him.

726 535 533 The principal singer of the war songs, a patriarch whose supernatural power is connected with raid and war, acts as another link between this dance and the ceremonial complex. A knot of male singers (women do not sing for the war dance) intone the refrain, beating on a piece of rawhide or on pottery drums, and this shaman chants the half-sung, half-spoken prayers. In these prayers, when the other voices are stilled, he calls upon the individual to demonstrate his manliness. One war-dance song contains these words (any name can be substituted for the one that is used here):

Geronimo, they say to you,
You! You!
They call you again and again.

Inspired by the ceremonialism of the occasion, the chosen man responds:

The shaman is on the side of the circle of seated warriors. He calls in his song on such-and-such a warrior to dance. . . . . He calls on one man after another until all are dancing. . . . When the shaman calls, there is no backing out. I don't care if the odds are against him, a man goes out if he is called upon. He is frenzied, beside himself. It is the power, the prayers, and not just the man.

726 535 533 561 577 The use of the personal name acts as an exciting challenge to the warrior:

In the war dance the singer actually calls a man's name. He pretty near has got to go then. He's got to make some kind of a showing. "So-and-so, get up and go to the enemy!" He's got to act when he hears this. He can't very well stay back and keep his self-respect. When we appeal to a man to help, we use his name.

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726 535 533 551 577

. . . . Not all come out at once. They name a man. This is in the song. They say, "You are a man! Now you are being called. What are you going to do when we fight with our enemy?" Then the man gets out and dances. Or, if he doesn't want to dance, he walks around the fire once to show that he is game.

I saw a war dance in 1883 at Fort Apache, when Chiricahua scouts were going after Geronimo. They called all the people together in a big open space. . . . .

Then the singer called a certain man by name. He said: "C., you are a man. You are known to be a great warrior. You have fought your enemies in close battle. We are calling you to dance." As soon as he said this, C. had his gun ready. He sprang out there, shooting into the air. Then they kept singing and called another name and another until four or five were out there dancing.

726 535 562 [198] [551]

The women were at the war dance. But they didn't dance or mix with the men. They stayed about six or eight yards away in a circle around the fire. They made that noise they make in the big tepee at the girl's puberty ceremony. At this war dance the women are all called White Painted Woman. A woman can't be referred to by her own name here. And the men are all called Child of the Water [except when they are named in the song].

726 535 577 156 [626]

Not all men are equally persuaded by this dramatic summons to arms, however:

One fellow refused to fight the Mexicans because he had nothing against them. Hearing the remark, another man started to spear him, but two or three others stopped him. The objector sat down and actually cried. The rest of the group was angry with him. They told him it would have been all right if the other man had speared him. They told him, "You shouldn't say such things! The Mexicans aren't that way and would like to kill you." They all hated him and wouldn't allow him to go to war because his feelings toward Mexicans wouldn't go well in war.

726 535

The "fierce dancing" of the warriors is usually followed by social dances in which the women also participate. The first of these is the round dance, named, for this occasion, "they show resentment against the enemy." "It is done in connection with the war dance before they go out on a war party. It takes place after the war dance but the same night. The people are in a bunch with the women on the outside. They go around the fire in a circle. The circle dance is for everybody." After the round dance come the very partner dances which take place during the nights of the girl's puberty rite, and these occur in the same relative order as on that occasion.

There seems to be some variation according to the scope and seriousness of the enterprise in the number of nights these dances

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•726 535 continue before the war party starts. One view is expressed in these statements:

They perform the war dance just at night before a fire. They dance all night for four nights. These have to be successive nights. The "fierce dance" comes first. Then there is social dancing until morning. The people sleep during the day.

The leader called all the men together and held a council. If they decided to go to war, they would have a big dance. Before going on the war path the Chiricahua had a four-day war dance.

[801] Whether this is a concession to the sacred number rather than an exact description is difficult to determine. At any rate, a one-night dance has already been twice mentioned, and the possibility of shortening these preliminaries is suggested in other comments:

They generally put on a war dance for two nights and then go out. They wait a day and leave the morning of the fourth day. They do this to get rest and sleep so that they will not have to sleep on the way.

The war dance is carried on at night. It is done for four nights, sometimes two. Then they go. Usually the men rest up a day before starting out.

These excerpts suggest that the expedition need not start the morning after the conclusion of the war dance, and this is supported by a direct statement: "The men do not have to start out immediately after the dancing. They set a day. It may be the fifth or sixth day after the dancing starts."

726 411 *The preparation for war; war practices.*—Sometime between the announcement of the expedition and the departure of the group, those who plan to go put their fighting gear in order. The standard equipment is the self-bow, arrows, wristguard, war club, and a stone knife. A few bring spears and shields as well. [877] After white contact, firearms appear.

The arrows prepared by the warrior are entirely of hard wood or have a cane shaft into which is affixed a hard-wood foreshaft. The tip is sharpened and fire hardened. Three feathers guide the arrow in its flight. Occasionally, arrow poison is employed. "We use it in time of war. To make it we use deer's blood and mix this with plants believed to be poisonous. This mixture is allowed to rot and then is put on arrow points." Variations of this

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formula occur. One calls for the addition of poisonous insects to putrifying liver; another is a mixture of deer stomach, blood, and thorny plants pounded together and allowed to spoil. Of the action of such poison, an informant declared, "A man hit with an arrow dipped in this turns black."

The bow and arrows are fitted handily into a well-made bow cover and quiver:

> When the Chiricahua are on the march and are not using their arrows, they carry them so that the feathers come over the top of the right shoulder. When they are fighting, they reverse the bag so that the feathers come under the left armpit, and they can be snatched out of the quiver with the right hand. For a left-handed person it is just the opposite. Sometimes the quiver is carried over the chest so it will be more handy.

Few men carry shields, for their manufacture is associated with the ceremony obtained from weapons:

> They wear the shield on the left arm (if right-handed). It is held over the arm by one or two straps, whatever is convenient. There is no buckskin cover for the Chiricahua shield. If I wanted to make one, I'd have to make it plain. To get it designed properly I have to go to a man who knows how and I have to pay him. A thing like this is made by a shaman, and you have to pay for it no matter how little it is. The man I go to uses his ceremony for my protection and puts on his design. Most shields have just a few feathers in the center and are of painted cowhide. There is buckskin around the edge only. They are very plain.

Spears, too, are most often made and decorated, either for themselves or for others, by shamans with "power of weapons." Before European contact, spears were essentially lengths of sharpened wood. Later, knives and bayonets were attached to the ends. Because the use of the spear brings the warrior within a few steps of his foe, fighting with this weapon is the kind of action expected of war leaders or those who aspire to that status. The spear rose in favor during the time of strife with the Mexicans:

> I remember back to the time when the Mexicans and other enemies used guns that I guess they call breechloaders.[7] The Chiricahua were using arrows, war clubs, and spears then. The spear was used when the enemy was taking time to load his gun. The Mexican used to have that big gun. He would shoot once, and the Indian who was a good runner charged him and pushed the spear in him. The Mexican didn't have time to reload.

[7] Probably the informant is thinking of a muzzle-loader.

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726 411 After the fast-loading gun with cartridges already fixed was in use, you had to be very quick and a good warrior to use a spear. Not everyone used spears. Just a few were brave enough to use a spear that close.

756 726 787 [789] Before the beginning of the journey constant measures of a religious nature are taken. Amulets are procured; protective caps and jackets are made or refurbished; shamans are consulted concerning the probable outcome of the expedition. "The leader goes to a shaman and says, 'You know something. Help us. What will happen?' Then the shaman sings and prays and he tells the people to go on, that they will have success." Sometimes the prophecies of the shaman are not so reassuring, however. "Before they leave camp they might all go in a body to the shaman. He conducts his ceremony, and if he feels that the raid will not come off safely, he says so, and the party does not go out."

Raiding and warfare are the special interests of those who have supernatural power to find or frustrate the enemy. Therefore, one or more shamans are fairly sure to accompany any large war party. Not infrequently the leader himself is a man renowned for his religious attainments as well as for his military prowess. During the entire course of the journey the advice of those who claim revelations in regard to war are treated with respect. Even if the party does not include eminent shamans, the rank-and-file warriors do not fail to come ritually prepared: [708] [278] "Each warrior carries a bag of pollen. Pollen is given to him with other herbs if he gets sick [during the war expedition]."

726 [198] The entire encampment gathers to watch the departure of the group. "They start sometime in the morning. When they are going for a real fight, everyone sees them off. When the men leave in the morning, the women give their call of applause."

722 562 784 The women, especially the wives of the departing men, have certain obligations during the absence of the warriors:

The women are careful about keeping the woodpile neat while the men are gone. The wood should be placed one way and should not be scattered, and the children should be kept off it for fear they will throw it around, and then the man will be lost. There are no other restrictions on the women when the husbands are out fighting. Some women pray when their husbands are out. Some are as religious as anything, but this praying is not general. During raids or wars the

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722 562 784

women had to be good and behave carefully so as not to give bad luck to the man. All of a man's relatives were under this restriction.

721

When a very prominent man with many relatives has been slain, or when an attack on an unguarded camp has aroused great anger, caution is forgotten. "When we are at war and out for a fight, we go right to the trail and face the enemy in the daytime. We are not particular."

Once a San Carlos Indian cut off a Chiricahua's head, and it led to much trouble and an outbreak. J. was right in the particular Chiricahua bunch when it happened.

[648]

Some Chiricahua had been away from the reservation. The U.S. army men had been after them and had offered twenty-five dollars for every hostile Chiricahua's head brought in. This bunch of Chiricahua decided to come in. They came close to the agency and were eating there. They put J. on a ridge to watch and stand guard. Finally J. was relieved by another boy, a good-looking young Chiricahua. A few minutes later, as he was sitting on the ridge with his gun across his knees, looking in the opposite direction, a San Carlos Indian crept up behind him and shot him. As soon as he shot, he was on this boy with his knife and cut his head off.

The rest of the Chiricahua came up and saw what had been done. They were as angry as could be. They found out who had done this and went down to his camp to get him. But he had been warned and got away. His wife and several children were there, though, and they killed them and left them lying right there. They went out and began shooting into other near-by San Carlos camps. They were so angry they didn't care what they did. Then they made for the hills. And so there was another outbreak.

726

But ordinarily rage is tempered by reason, and the war party moves in a disciplined way:

When they start out they have two men ahead and two behind; they have scouts on every side. When they are ready to camp for the night, they send scouts ahead and in the directions to look for the enemy until dark comes. Early in the morning they do the same. These scouts come back and report.

[596]

On the march "the men of each cluster [extended family] stick together near their own leader." But, generally speaking, each person is responsible for his own welfare:

726 724

[262] [415]

Each individual usually takes his own provisions with him. He takes some mescal and dried meat which he carries in a buckskin or hide bag attached to his shoulder strap [bandoleer]. The fire drill, if he has one with him, can be carried in this bag too. He carries water in a container made of the intestines of animals. He just ties the ends to keep it shut. He doesn't carry a water jar, because they

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726 [724] are clumsy and because when it gets warm the water gets a pitchy taste. Some might go on horseback and some on foot. Each man cooks for himself; each man eats what he has. If they capture horses from the enemy, each man ropes the best horse he can.

726 701 756 302 The leader or a shaman sometimes decorates the faces of the members of the group:

There is no special way of face-painting for all warriors. Some leader like Geronimo who has special power might decorate his men as his power directs him. Geronimo used to mark his men on the forehead, the sides of the face, and across the nose.[1] It was his own way though and not the way of all the Chiricahua.

726 702 868 Attached to the party sometimes are novices, though there is a tendency to encourage their attendance on the less hazardous raids instead:

Just the young boy, the novice who is fourteen or fifteen years old, takes a stick and reed for scratching himself and for drinking water. They have to use the sacred language while they are out. These boys have to use this kind of talk around camp too as long as they are novices. On the warpath or raid the men call the novice Child of the Water.

726 [756] On the journey the shaman's advice is a powerful influence in determining the decisions of the leader:

Any big war party will have a shaman along to tell them how to get success. He tells them whether to go to the open country or whether to keep back in the hills where the enemy are. They don't have to take any certain shaman along on a war party. There is sure to be some regular warrior along who has power.

Of the time and manner of attack on enemy camps, this account has been given: "We usually attack early in the morning. We are quiet when we go to attack. We fight in hand-to-hand action, and the individual can advance or retreat according to his chance and how the fight is going. In the battle the men obey the leader."

726 701 The role of the leader in the actual conflict is a central one:

Before the engagement each leader would talk to his group and encourage them. He would go before them in battle and perform great feats to spur them on. After the engagement he had to lead his men to safety and water.

[1] One informant gave a secular reason for the face-painting: "The white paint on the faces of Geronimo's men was to mark them in battle so they wouldn't kill their own men."

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726 701 (756)

The shaman and the leader entered right into the fight. In a battle the leader and the shaman would each be on one flank of the men. The leader would detail two to go out in front. If the enemy should begin to charge them, the leader would order all his men forward immediately. The leader takes the front and the shaman the rear, urging the men forward.

726 756

The position of the shaman at this time is not due to reluctance to risk combat with the enemy. He falls behind "to perform his ceremony and prevent injuries." This ceremonial function may even overshadow in significance leadership of the more warlike type, for ceremonialism is injected into the military action from beginning to end. In a description of a specific war party which he accompanied and in which he and his kin avenged the death of a relative, an informant reports: "When the war party was ready to attack, the shaman prayed, turned to the four directions, then faced the warriors, and ordered them to charge."

726 725 648

Should the warriors find themselves in jeopardy, they resort to strategy, as in this method of rendering Mexican firearms ineffective:

During the battle the Chiricahua used bows and arrows and spears but had no rifles. The Mexicans were not afraid of bows and arrows, so the Chiricahua leader would send two Indians into the open, just out of range. These two men would try to avoid the bullets; they were protected by the shamans and were never shot. The reason they sent these two men out was that the Mexicans' rifles would become heated after a while and they would not be able to shoot straight. I saw this happen often, for I was at war nearly every month.

After the two Chiricahua had been in the open for perhaps half an hour, they would go back to the line of warriors. Then all would charge the Mexicans and kill as many as a hundred. Often the Indians would kill all of their foes; those on horseback might get away, but never those on foot. The only way the Mexicans could beat us was if some Chiricahua men were scouting and the Mexicans made a raid on their home camp in their absence.

726 725

When hard pressed, the warriors are capable of arranging traps and ambushes:

Suppose there were forty or fifty men out on the war party. The enemy is right after them. They get to a brushy place. They all go straight ahead and then they divide, and part come back on the side in the bushes. The enemy goes right on. The Chiricahua ahead begin shooting. Then when the enemy turns, the Chiricahua in their rear and on the side begin to shoot. They did this many times. They always have a couple of scouts behind and on the side and a couple

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726 ahead in the roughest places, looking for signs of the enemy. These are the
725 fastest men.

Another trick is like this. If the enemy is right on their trail and is catching up to them, they get into the roughest, most rocky place they can find. Two Chiricahua scouts stay behind and show themselves to the enemy while the rest conceal themselves. These two act as though they didn't know the enemy is there. They get in range of the enemy. They act as if they had no idea the enemy is in sight. They go toward the place where their own men are. They are watching though, and are ready to jump and run as soon as the enemy shoots at them. When this happens they will be running toward their own men. These Chiricahua see them coming and let them pass. But the enemy comes after them, and before they know it they are in front of the Chiricahua weapons. This has been done several times, they say. They have to plan what to do beforehand to accomplish it.

726 In the thick of battle the use of the name again operates as a
551 solemn claim:

If we are having a fight with Mexicans, or are in any other kind of battle, and everybody runs away from me and leaves me with the enemy shooting at me, it is all right to call a man's name to get help. Maybe P. is the last man and he is starting away and is about to pass me. I call him by his name and say, "Don't leave me here alone with these people!" Then he would say, "Well, that's my name," and he would turn around and begin to fight again. That's how the name is used. If you call his name, it is almost impossible for a man to leave you. In time of peace a person doesn't like to be called by his name.

726 If superior numbers are encountered or if the fight is turning out badly, the warriors disperse:

Sometimes they scatter out and agree to meet at a certain place on a certain day. A small group goes this way and another goes that way. They run on rocks as much as possible so that their tracks will not be seen. They say, "Go on rocks so your tracks will not be fresh. Keep off soft ground."

A person hides his tracks by jumping from rock to rock and from bunch of grass to bunch of grass to get away from those who are following. Another thing he does sometimes is to take grass and rub out his tracks with it so they won't be noticed at some places where they are too plain.

726 Signs on the trail or other devices may be necessary in time
487 of war:

Sometimes they tie a piece of something on a tree and then on another so that they can be trailed by friends who are looking for these signs. The pieces may be a whole day's journey apart. But the Chiricahua is looking for it as he goes along, for the agreement has been made, and he knows what the sign will be. Or they

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might agree that a stone pointing in a certain way will be a sign. Lines on the ground are also made to indicate which way they are turning on the trail. Dropping a stick in the direction in which you are traveling is another way. [726] [487]

The wolf howl may be simulated by the members of a scattered party. "The warriors would call to each other with the wolf howl. When the Mexicans were our enemies, we used to howl to each other in this way so that the enemy would not know who we were." [198] [825] [648]

The smoke signal, too, is used to some extent: [726] [202]

If a group agrees that when they get to a certain place they will make a smoke signal, the others watch for it. None is made except on agreement. It has to be used during the daytime. Sotol is used to make these smoke signals.

For signal smoke a fire is built, and damp wood and grass are put on; this makes a smoke that can be seen for great distances. Whenever the Chiricahua see smoke from a long distance, they know something is happening. The smoke always means something, usually that there are enemies or that there is an epidemic. If it means the first, the smoke is from a mountaintop. If it means sickness, it comes from a camp in the valley.

According to another informant, the smoke signal can be used to determine whether members of an approaching group are friends or foes:

If one party of men sees another in the distance, it lights a fire to the right of it and sends up one column of smoke. This means, "Who are you?" If the other group builds a fire to its right and sends up one column of smoke it means, "We are Chiricahua and friends." To send up the smoke, they put wet grass on the fire and throw a rock on top. The weight of the rock makes the fire burn fast. Then you scatter the fire quickly to stop the smoke.

Finally, the smoke signal serves to acquaint the home camp of the war party's safety:

If, when the warriors leave, they are not certain at just what time they are coming back, the people who are left behind must look for smoke at a certain mountain or canyon that they name. These people have to have a scout looking for this smoke. For instance, they say they will be back in fifteen days. The days pass, and they are not back. Then those left behind look for smoke from that day on at the place they mentioned.

After the introduction of the mirror, some use was made of it for signaling in times of strife: [177]

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726 202 177 We used a mirror. Quivering a beam toward strangers and then casting out a long beam from you means, "Who are you?" The others reply, "A friend," by directing the beam toward themselves and then in a circle toward you. Flashing downward with the beam means, "Come." Flashing to the right means, "Go right," to the left means, "Go left."

726 821 One of the chief benefits of star lore, apparently, is to help raiders or warriors find their way about:

I can't tell you much about the stars. I never paid much attention to it. But you take a man like L.: he's been out at war many times. He has had to go by the stars. He knows all about them and what direction they are moving in.

726 805 211 Timekeeping devices are important to the warriors and to those awaiting their return:

Suppose you had promised someone to be somewhere in a certain number of days. You'd have to start at the right time to get there. So every morning you would throw a stone in a certain place and keep count of them. In this way you would know when to start. Or you might do it with marks on a stick. I have heard of doing it with beads on a string too. A few, maybe one or two out of the whole tribe, kept time by beads.

726 271 When a war or raiding party scatters, some individuals may lose their way, and they are likely to suffer from lack of water. Certain aids are therefore taught to everyone:

We are taught, when thirsty and without water, to put a dry stick or stone in the mouth. I have done it lots of times. It starts the saliva and helps you. We melt snow for water when we find some in the mountains. Different kinds of [824] cactus are used when we are in the flats. We chew the inner parts of the cactus for thirst. No matter how hot the weather is, that is always cool. Barrel cactus saved many people too. To get the water you knock the top off. There is water in there; it's like a watermelon. To get the water, you have to squeeze the pulp. And we get rain water from mescal. This plant holds water [in the basal leaves]. The animals get water from these. The deer and horses drink from them. In the south the big ones grow. To drink, the man uses a reed or something hollow if he has it and sucks it out.

726 291 [824] In emergencies, improvised footgear must sometimes be made. "When the Chiricahua were caught out on the raid or at war and their moccasins gave out, they took grass and tied it to their feet with two or three strips of yucca."

726 157 The warrior has little respect for a senseless sacrifice of life, but when he is brought to bay he is capable of furious resistance:

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726 157

When a Chiricahua is cornered and desperate and thinks the end has come, he tears off his shirt and headband. He tears off all his clothes but his loincloth, and he goes right into the thick of it. Sometimes he fights so hard that he gets away.

727

The wounded constitute a major problem of war:

[752]

If anybody is wounded on the warpath, they try to bring him back. But it is often far, and they often die. If they get back, herbs will be used on the wounds, and the shaman will sing. . . . . Cures might be worked on the warpath if there was somebody along who knew how.

727 177

Scalping and the taking of captives.—Scalping is a very recently acquired custom and one for which there is limited enthusiasm. A number of spokesmen flatly denied that scalping is a practice of their people:

The Chiricahua never scalp. They never bother with them. They don't like them. It looks as if it is against their religion.

I don't think scalping is the habit of the Chiricahua, for I have not seen many try it. It looks as though a few saw other Indians do it and tried it.

727 177 648

Retaliation for atrocities visited upon them is the explanation most often given by those who admit that some scalps were taken. The Mexicans are frequently blamed for the development of this form of revenge:

The Mexicans used to take scalps. They started it first—before the Chiricahua. They used to take scalps, including the ears, and sometimes they took the whole head. The Chiricahua would make peace with the Mexicans. Then the Mexicans would give them liquor, get them drunk, take them in their houses, and cut off their heads. Then the war would start again.

Scalping is used as a last resort on a man who has made a great deal of trouble for the Chiricahua. Such a man, when finally caught, would be scalped and "danced on." He was scalped after he was dead. The whole scalp was taken off. In the dance the pole is in the center with the scalp on top, and they dance around it. The scalp is thrown away at the end of the dance. This is used mostly on Mexicans who did awful things against the Chiricahua.

727

While the Mexicans were undoubtedly the special object of Chiricahua hatred during this period, the data indicate that the scalping of members of other groups did sometimes occur. But, in any case, scalping was never carried on extensively:

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576 551 was a boy my relatives made a bed for me wherever we stayed, and so I got this name.

576 551 476 I will tell you under what conditions I would call a man's name. If someone in my family died and I wanted help, I would do so. I would go to someone, call him by name, and say, "So-and-so, my wife has died and I need help." The person would then be under obligation to help me all he could. If a man who is in need comes to me and calls me, I would help him at once. I would give what I could.

No matter how poor a man is, if he is called by name, he will do something about it. It makes a person very sad if someone calls on him by name and he is not able to help. If a man calls my name and asks me for something valuable, I will give it to him, because I know he needs it badly. A man is willing to do anything for another if he calls him by name. But if a man asks for something valuable without calling my name, I would consider it a joke, for, if the man really needed it, he would call my name.

[755] [726] If a man is very sick and is sent to a shaman, and he is afraid the shaman will not take the case, he will call him by his name. Also in war or in the war dance the name is used because it is a case of emergency.[3]

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551 (using the name I had heard from my wife). My wife came and looked. 'Why, that's not his name!' she said. 'It belongs to his wife.' "

[128] Because names have been reduced to initials throughout this study, a number of them are included here in translation to indicate their quality. Most of these could be borne by either men or women; a few, such as "Thin Old Woman" and "Red Boy" could not, for they denote sex.

Names of Women	Names of Men
Stepping on Water	Heavy-Set
Round Nose	Going about with Head Bent Down
One Who Has Sucked	One Who Yawns
One Who Stays at Home	One Who Chews
Streaming Down	One Who Peels It
Sleepy	One Who Checks the Horse
Walks into White Man	Not Quite Enough
Yellow Eyelids	Blessing with Pollen
Buckskin Shaker	Little Rabbit
Thin Old Woman	Coyote Has Sores
	One Who Tears Up Things
	Broken Foot
	Little Face
	Belt

576 551 476 703 [3] An instance of the use of the name in an emergency plea is introduced in one of the myths. Wind had hidden from the earth after a quarrel with Lightning. The rain fell unhindered. Finally, the bees were sent to find Wind and induce him to return to his duties. When they located him, "they called the name of the wind, for it was an emergency, and they called his name to his face."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

DEATH, MOURNING, AND THE UNDERWORLD

761 [195] THE topic of death is sedulously avoided. The regular term for death is seldom used; the approved euphemism "he is gone" is employed instead.[1] When an informant was asked whether his people had any death songs, his 761 533 emphatic reply was:

> There are no death songs for the Chiricahua. Our war songs urge the men to go forward all the time. Death wouldn't be mentioned. If a Chiricahua man [535] heard a word about death in there during a war dance, he would stop dancing. [926] He would go to a man with a ceremony for war and have him sing his songs and find out what it meant. Some men would back right out as soon as they heard anything like that. They'd be afraid that the fight would turn against them if that bad word was said in there.

764 But, when death does strike, a formal pattern of thought and procedure exists to make possible the requisite material and psychological adjustments.

The data already presented concerning the owl, the ghost, and ghost sickness[2] have paved the way for a summary of the characteristics of the burial practices:

> When a person dies, his close relatives pull their good clothes off. They tie any old thing around themselves to keep themselves covered and warm. It is [765] sometimes a month before they dress in good clothes again. Members of the family cut their hair; the women wail; the men cry.
>
> [202] A few minutes after death (whether a man or a woman has died) a close male relative may go out of doors and shoot off a good many cartridges in the air. He doesn't shoot in any special direction. Any male relative can do it. I don't know exactly why it is done; no one seems to be sure. But I think that this has to do with the importance of the person who has died. It tells the rest of the people that someone of standing has died. N. was a leader. When his mother died, he

[762] [1] In spite of the great terror surrounding death, suicides occasionally occur when life becomes unbearable. Individuals have committed suicide when captured by the enemy, when stunned with grief at the loss of a child or some other close relative, or as a result of marital strife.

[2] See pp. 14–15, 229–37, 301–5.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

with his nails. He obeyed a number of food and behavior restrictions during these journeys. He spoke in a special "war-path language" that had been taught him, in which all sacred subjects and objects that have to do with the raid and war-path were referred to by other than the ordinary terms. Thus a horse was called "one with nose to the ground," pollen was called, "it renews life," and a mountain in enemy country was called, "one I have not seen before." During these first four expeditions the boy had to obey every order of the warriors. He went for the water, built the fires, cared for the horses, and stood watch over the camp. He was not expected to share any of the fighting or dangers of these first four journeys, but when he went for the fifth time, with his apprenticeship and boyhood behind him, he felt obligated to act with conspicuous bravery.

Apache war dances and victory dances were vigorous representations by the warriors of the battle to come or the conflict from which they had just emerged. A large fire was kindled in the evening at a level place. To the side of it singers squatted before large pieces of rawhide. The singers beat the hide with sticks and began the war songs. They would call the name of the warrior and ask him to show what he would do or had done. With a bound the warrior named would appear before the fire in full battle array, and by flourishing his weapons, dodging dexterously to avoid the enemies' arrows, and engaging in a pantomime of the encounter, he would depict his prowess in war. Then others would be called until all those who were connected with the expedition had a chance to participate.

Women watched the dancing from a little distance and occasionally uttered a high-pitched, keening-like cry which indicated applause, but no woman took part in the dance. During this dance all women had to be addressed as White-Painted Woman, the most prominent character of her sex in Apache mythology and the mother of the culture hero.